Mr. President: Does the Hon'ble Member decline to move his motion?

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* Yes.

Mr. President: Then the Hon'ble Member declines to move his motion. That will appear in the proceedings.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* Probably if my motion is moved now the discussion may not be over this evening.

Mr. President: I do not regard this as a matter of such urgency that it is necessary to take a decision this evening.

Non-official Resolutions

1. Appointment of a Committee to draw up a Scheme for constitutional reforms

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* Sir, I beg to move that *this Council recommends to the Government to appoint a Committee to draw up a scheme for constitutional reforms.*

Motions have been passed over and over again in this House urging the establishment of Responsible Government. Government have expressed themselves several times in favour of a policy of granting more and more power to the people from time to time. In pursuance of such a policy this House was established about two decades ago and its powers were widened from time to time. The present constitution has been granted to the people about seven years ago by His Highness the then Maharaja. This form of Government known as diarchy had not a very good reputation after its working in British India. Nevertheless the people of the State accepted it as the first step in the direction of full responsible Government.

Mr. V. K. Bhaskara Menon *(Cranganur):* We have not accepted it.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* The very fact that the Hon'ble Member for Cranganur is here in this House shows that he has accepted it.

Mr. V. K. Bhaskara Menon *(Cranganur):* Not the Constitution Act.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* Anyhow the Declaration containing the announcement of the reforms and the numerous speeches made by the then Diwan inspired the people with very great hopes about the future of the constitution. Nevertheless though 7 years are ever since then, we remain almost where we started. This is only a transitional form of Government and such a form of Government cannot be worked for long satisfactorily. Therefore, it is necessary that we should progress further from where we stand. I may be questioned why it is that I want a committee to be appointed before we progress further. It may be said that the end of our political evolution is the attainment of full responsible Government then, the proper thing for this Council to do is to urge upon the government to grant immediately full responsible Government or at least a substantial instalment of it. But, to my mind it appears that, having worked the constitution for seven years, it would be an act of prudence to review its working and see whether any modification is necessary before we advance any further. If it is considered that there are defects in the present constitution or that it is not completely suited to the conditions available here, then it is necessary for us to make suitable alterations. It is with that aim in view that I urge that a committee should be appointed to review the working of the constitution for the past seven years and prepare a scheme for further progress. If the committee is of the view that we have started along the proper road, we can go along the road we have taken. If the committee thinks that some alterations or modifications are necessary, we can make them and we can progress along the new line checked out by the committee.

Sir, the form of Responsible Government prevailing in Great Britain is not the only form of democracy. This form of democracy has been tried in the British Indian Provinces. Since it has been tried there, there has been criticism coming from some eminent political thinkers that the parliamentary form of Responsible Government is not suited to Indian conditions.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Who said that?

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* In several Provinces in India they find it difficult to have a stable Ministry. In some Provinces there have been complaints that the majority community was oppressing the minority community. In Provinces where the Hindus were in majority the Muslims were complaining that they were oppressed and in the Provinces where

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the Muslims were in the majority the Hindus were complaining to the same effect. Taking the case of Cochin, though it is about two decades, as I stated before, since this House was established, we cannot claim that we have been able to develop a properly organised party system. A properly organised party system is the very basis for the working of this form of Government. Outside the Council there is absolutely no party organisation and inside the Council—I do not say anything—I leave it there.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi)*: Whose fault is it ?

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur)*: It is the fault of all of us. It is not particularly your fault or my fault. It is the fault of our social structure. That is why we have remained where we were.

Sir, we have to consider whether this form of Government is suited to our conditions. What I mean to say is there are several ways of looking at this problem and there are several ways of considering it. We have not been able to show that spirit of compromise and adjustment and that respect for leadership which are characteristic of the British people and which have sustained their constitution through centuries and in the severest of their trials. We have also to consider whether an irremovable Cabinet will be better than a Ministry depending every minute on the uncertain support of unsteady parties. Sir, the constitution of America is not at all inferior to that of Great Britain. The American President is irremovable for the perod he is elected,

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi)*: We shall follow the British example.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanaayannur)*: You may follow any example. But let me state my view.

Coming nearer home, in Mysore there is another form of partial democracy, quite different from ours. Sir, the parliamentary form of democracy has not succeeded anywhere else except in Great Britain and in the Colonies of the British people. Probably, the history of France before and after the outbreak of the present war gives a deplorable illustration of the truth of what I have stated. Therefore, my suggestion is that all these aspects may be gone into by the committee and if it is found that this form of government is the best suited to the conditions obtaining here and if the Government agree with that view, we can progress in the way we have started. If the committee thinks that some alterations are necessary we can make those alterations. It is only prudent that we should review the past working of the constitution before we decide upon its future. The mere fact that a committee is going to be appointed does not mean that this constitution is going to be scrapped. If it thinks that this is the proper form of Government the committee can very well recommend that. My object in saying all this is not to decry responsible Government nor to say that it should be abolished. I have only stated these facts to show that there is necessity for a consideration of the various aspects of the problem and that there is need for a committee. These are aspects to be considered before we take a decision about the future. It need not be thought that this is a retrograde step. We have started from one form of Government in a march towards another. We are now neither here nor there. We have stopped midway. It is not a very desirable state of affairs to be midway for long working a transitional form of Government. We are riding a two-wheeled vehicle like a bicycle, one wheel consisting of the Minister and the other of the Diwan, and it is very difficult to keep the balance on such a vehicle.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi)*: Who is the driver?

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur)*: Such a vehicle must always be kept running if the balance is to be kept. Sir, we are having a transitional form of Government and a stand-still leads to decay. So it is imperatively necessary that we must proceed further. If we have started in the right direction we can advance along that direction. If we have started in the wrong direction it is only reasonable that we should change our path. The object of the committee is to consider all these questions. With these few words I commend the resolution for the acceptance of the House.

*Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam)*: Sir, though I have tabled a resolution, Resolution No. 5, on a substantial expansion of responsible Government in the State I have decided to support or to second the resolution that has been tabled by Mr. Poulose.

As he has already pointed out we have been in this form of Government for the last seven years and if we look into the past proceedings of this House we find that soon after the inauguration of the new Constitution repeated requests have been made on the floor of this House either for the establishment of complete responsible Government or a substantial expansion of responsible Government. From time to time these requests were turned down by Government on various pleas and on all those occasions the Government's answers were evasive and elusive.

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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I am not going to speak at any length on this. Judging from the attitude of the people in this matter a sort of depression has come upon them and sometime ago in an Agenda like this you have found member after member sending up resolutions on further expansion of responsible Government or demanding full responsible Government. Now you find in this agenda paper out of 138 resolutions only a solitary resolution demanding further extension of responsible Government. (*Hear, hear*). Sir, this is symptomatic of a very sad fact that people have lost hopes so to say of achieving any progress in this respect and to my mind it seems that is the explanation. Many of us have come to feel "what is the use of asking for it. We have asked and asked; we have shouted and shouted; we have cried hoarse over the matter and nothing coming". Government always profess sympathy. Every Diwan professes sympathy saying your aspirations are sympathetically viewed. Your requests are sympathetically viewed and then came happily the mighty war. War conditions prevail. Nothing can move except the war. That came to the rescue. The whole world must stand still till the war is over. In that suspended animati on the Government took shelter and asked us to wait till the war is over and when the war is over we do not know what will be the further excuse. We feel, the public feel, a sort of despair and a sense has grown upon us—this sort of sense "what is the use of asking; it will not be got". From time to time treaty obligations have been put forward and very responsible British Statesmen like Earl Winterton made it clear that the plea of treaty rights will not stand in the way of extension of responsible Government in the Indian States. The plea of treaty rights became an exploded myth. That is gone. Then came this position—War. Whatever might be the reason, whatever might be the pleas advanced, the factum is that we have lost confidence in the matter and the high hopes that have been raised when this constitution had been innagurated have almost been shattered in the minds of the public and hence it is found to-day this sad spectacle that out of 138 resolutions there is only one solitary resolution—not for complete responsible Government because I thought that it will be too much—but only for a substantial extension of responsible Government. Here, then, it is an indication of the despair the people feel over this matter. I am, therefore, glad, Sir, that at least now the Government will be pleased to consider that at least a committee will be appointed to review this question. Will they hesitate to do that? I hope they will not. I hope that the committee will not be a retrograde committee. At least that can be accepted by the Government. It is not a step which I do not entirely approve of. My view is that we must go ahead in the path that has been established by the inauguration of the new constitution by one of the most venerable Rulers of our State and one of the most wisest of Diwans in this particular respect which our State had. Seven years we worked it. Diarchy, we must understand, is a nice thing at the beginning, sweet as milk and good as milk it is at the beginning. But keep it for some time. It becomes stained. Keep it longer it becomes putrid. And keep it more longer it becomes stagnant. I ask the Hon'ble House and the Government whether we have not come to someting of that stage. We think we have. Whose is the fault. Whose is the fault, I ask again. It is not the fault of this House. Yesterday an Hon'ble Member or more than one Hon'ble Member mentioned that this House has fallen low. I protest against it. This Council has not fallen low. If matters have become bad the Government is responsible for it because the Government allows the people to purify here without taking the further step in the connection. I certainly protest against that allegations made by my Hon'ble friends. We have not fallen low. That is my contention.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar (*Nellayi*): In the estimation of the people we have.

Mr. L.M. Pylee (*Latin Christians-Ernakulam*): The further point advanced by my Hon'ble friend, is that there are defects in the constitution. Defects there may be. After all it is a mooted question whether we should have fixed executive as the American System or an excutive of the Swiss System or perhaps an ingenious invention of our own. These matters can be gone into by the committee and therefore I beg to second and support this motion although I have tabled a motion—motion No. 5 that is on the agenda.

*Mr. A. V. Moothedan (*Chalakkudi*): Sir, I oppose this motion; there are several grounds for opposing this motion. First of all my Hon'ble friend ought not to have brought a motion of this kind at this juncture. Already the Government have decided to dissolve this House and we are going to impose a constitution on future legislators. I think it is unwise. A fresh election will be taking place. They will be fresh and they will represent more correctly the public opinion in the State. Therefore, they will be more competent to make a suggestion

*Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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to the Government. Therefore, on the eve of the dissolution of this House, I think, we should not discuss such an important matter which will last not for one year or for two years but for generations. In such an all important matter there is no use of our making any suggestion. Already there is a complaint among the public that we have sat long. Therefore, the Government have decided to dissolve this House. In this matter our opinion will not be of much value to the future generation.

Coming to the merits of the resolution, I might say the Hon'ble Mover referred to the American System of democracy. I should say I have been closely following these constitutional theories and matters in the papers and I find already some reactionary politicians in British India to recommend the American System. I do not mention their name. Somes of them I have got in my mind. But no progressive politician in British India recommends the American System.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Will you please mention some of these names.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* If come to my house I will give you the names.

The Hon'ble Mover has stated that Provincial Autonomy was a failure in British India. The Hon'ble President himself had something to do with Provincial Autonomy in British India and he may perhaps be laughing at the things that we say. It has been stated on the floor of the House of Commons and elsewhere that Provincial Autonomy was a success.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* Sir, I did not say that it was a failure. Please don't misquote me.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Then why should you want a change. There should be logic in what you say. If Provincial Autonomy according to the Government of India Act has been a failure why should you want American System to be introduced.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* What I said is this. There have been a lot of complaints about the oppression of minority by the majority in power. I also said that in certain provinces they have not been able to have a stable Ministry. I never said that it was either a success or a failure.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Whatever it may be, it has been unanimously acclaimed that Provincial Autonomy has been a success. Some of the unwise Congress Ministries resigned and ran away. It was a fault of the Congress Party. The British Indian Act is quite alright. It is a very good scheme. Even these Congress people do not want to have fundamental changes in the Act. Within the provisions of the Government of India Act they want Central Government to be nationalised. They do not want any fundamental change. Within the frame-work of the Constitution they want some changes in the Central Government.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* What about Pakistan.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Pakistan is a principle which I do not approve of. We want a United India. I have great sympathy for muslims except Pakistan.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* What is Pakistan?

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* United we stand, divided we fall. Generally Government appoint a committee when they do not know what to do.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar *(Nellayi):* When they do not wnat to do anything.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* When they really do not know what to do they appoint a committee and as my friend Mr. Ramachandra Ayyar says if they do not want to do anything they appoint a committee. According to me there is no necessity to appoint a committee for preparing a scheme for constitutional reforms. Now, we have already got a constitution here. The Government of Cochin Act was prepared by very eminent lawyers and passed after very great consideration. The scheme is complete. According to the Government of Cochin Act we have got Transferred Departments and Reserved Departments. The Reserved Departments are under the Diwan and the Transferred Departments are under the Minister. By some verbal changes in the Constitution Act we can have full responsible Government. Wherever the words 'Minister' and 'Diwan' appear we may substitute the words "Council of Ministers". The Secretary of the Legislative Council will do it if the Government orders. Delete the words 'reserved subjects' and make the necessary changes. The Secretary will do it if the government orders. Therefore, there is absolutely no necessity for a committee. This was prepared after great deliberation. But after all has the Government decided to give full responsible Government. That is the question. If they have decided only verbal amendments in the Act are required. What has that to do with the American Constitution. I think one fundamental difference between the American Constitution and the British System is that in England they have got an unwritten constitution and in America everything is written. It is too

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rigid. In Britain it will easily adapt to changing conditions. That is a very great advantage. The French Constitution was so very rigid that every Friday they had a new Government. But the British System is not like that. They can very easily adapt themselves to any changing conditions. Whatever we may say about the British people their constitution is very excellent and their system of administration is excellent.

Then the Hon'ble Mover referred to the oppression of the minority by the majority.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* I only said that there were complaints that the majority was oppressing the minority.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan (*Chalakkudi*) : This morning how many complaints were coming against the Minister. Complaints anybody can make. That is the very advantage of the Parliamentary System of Government. But the question is whether these complaints are really reasonable or frivolous. Please don't be carried away by these complaints. Therefore, Sir, I for these reasons oppose this resolution. My position is like this. If the Government really want to transfer power to the people they can do it without any difficulty at all. Only verbal alterations are required. So there is no necessity for a committee. Secondly, this House is going to be dissolved and it is a very big question binding all generations to come and, therefore, let a new Council take a decision.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Was not this constitution prepared before we came to this Council?

Mr. A. V. Moothedan (*Chalakkudi*) : This constitution was prepared by the Government without consulting any of these Legislative Council Members.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)* : Sir, it has become necessary, absolutely necessary, to read the resolution because my friend, the Hon'ble Member who spoke before me, I believe, did not speak much about the resolution, but wandered far away from it. One was a comparison of the British Constitution with the American Consttution. One other was a peroration on the Cochin Constitution Act, upon the qualities of the giver of it and all that, All this take us far away from the resolution. Hence I read the resolution to arrest the attention of the House to the subject under consideration. The resolution reads thus:—

"This Council recommend to the Government to appoint a Committee to draw up a scheme for constitutional reforms".

The first reading of this resolution, Sir, may strike one that this resolution is an unwanted one, a retrograde step in the sense that here is a constitution for Cochin where it has been clearly laid down how the executive administration of Cochin is to be carried on. Then why this? Have we not got a constitution? Is there not a scheme there? That will be the first impression. Viewed from that angle this resolution may seem to be not necessary. But we, as practical politicians, if we desire for that name, we have, Mr. President, have to look at things as they obtain here and today.

The Constitution Act of Cochin was the result of agitation on the part of the public started not from the date of the inauguration of this Council but started much earlier, but continued through this Council from its very inception. The Government used to take up different positions at different times according as to who was the executive head at the time, Cochin had the good fortune, Sir, to have some 10 years back, as its executive head a politician Diwan and soon after his assuming the duties of the Chief Advisor to His Highness we thought that this was the fittest opportunity for realising the fruition of our activities in this line. Within a few months, if not in the first Council after he came, in the second, this proposition of constitutional reforms was mooted. His attitude then was one which blighted all our hopes. He said "that the constitution-making in an Indian State under the suzerainty of Britain is a proposition which bristles with difficulties". "Bristles with difficulties". That was in the month of February. By the time we reached January following in this short period of ten months, Sir, without any ado about the proposition on the auspicious occasion of our then Maharaja's Birthday, sprung a very agreeable and pleasing surprise upon the public of Cochin. Absolutely no word was heard about it earlier. What was the basis of the Constitution Act of Cochin was then announced. But the Diwan he was doing the necessary thinks to lay the foundations thereby ever since that discussion took place in this House when he said that this proposition 'bristles with difficulties'. Why I say he was working earlier than the announcement is that that announcement made in the Durbar Hall at about this time on that auspicious evening was proclaimed with trumpets, deserving trumpets, by publication in Madras which reached us the next morning. Remarks about this constitution from ex-Viceroys down to persons who do not belong to that category were in the Madras papers of the next morning. Therefore, we know how it was worked, how much attention was being

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paid to it and the Council that met soon after that acclaimed it with thanks but not with the words that we have got all that we want. We accepted this, Sir, as the first step on the road of constitutional reforms. That is the nature of the people of Cochin. They will be asking for much but even when a portion of it is given they will thank the donor, they will wait and see whether more will come of its own volition in due time. We had this Constitution Act soon after the announcement. We have worked it for seven years and we waited without question. When we find that no advance was made in the course of a couple of years we began to ask for a little more, one more department may be transferred. Discussions followed discussion. The Government stood committed to the Constitution Act. The Government could not possibly oppose the resolution for the transference of more departments because they stood committed. Their position roughly was that having passed the Constitution Act and having transferred as many as six departments which vitally affected the welfares of the country why not wait a little more; Why not allow the donors to wait and see the progress of this Constitutional child. That was their attitude. We accepted that too and waited with patience. We would wait and keep quiet for another year. Again we will come because we wanted more. It is our right to ask. I shall not say, duty it is the benovelence of the Government to give. We can ask for more only through this Council because meetings are banned and therefore we cou'd not do it elsewhere. Did we get it? No. In the days of the present Diwan's predecessor we agitated. He was very responsive but he could not grant our request. The present experienced Diwan took charge over a year ago. We waited; we approached; we requested. We had in the last Budget Sesssion an assurance that this question is engaging the attention of the Government. We are a few months this side and what is our position. As pointed out by the Hon'ble Member for Chalakkudi we are only on the eve of a new Council. We have to face the electorate. Some of us may be returning to the Council. Men with fresh blood, young, more experienced, will also be returned. It was stated by that Hon'ble Member that the time is not good and that it must be left to them. I beg to differ. It is the experience of the working of the constitution for the last 7 years in the way in which it is being worked with its limitations—I do not dilute upon that aspect that encourages and even compets to make the present motion. Though the proposition may appear to be a retrograde one, though it may appear that there is no necessity, I think that unless some method is devised by which our progress can be insured there will be a future of stagnancy. Whether it is asked for by us or whether it is asked for by the 6th Council to be had a few months hence, I am afraid that if something is not done there will be stagnancy. It is to avoid that stagnancy it is to create acceleration, it is to see that we go forward, it is to see that our going forward is not in the hands of anybody, that we ask for the committee. It is to see that the constitution is drafted by a committee competent to go into the question of the next step and the future step culminating in full responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja—full responsible Government of the Parliamentary Democracy type—and that expression includes "under the aegis of His Highness" and I believe that is the fittest constitution for an enlightened State like this, for a maritime State like ours. Of course there may be persons more competent than myself holding other views. They are at liberty to do so I have been holding this view. I have not been able to change and I believe I can die under this belief in democracy. But I believe I will live to see that day which day I believe will not be long, thereby I am courting death earlier. But even courting death earlier is better than putting off the day when Cochin to prepare a scheme which will take us to the land of glory will have full responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja which will be glory to His Highness, which will be glory to His Highness's Advisors and which will be a glory to the people of the State. I solicit the help of every member of this House so that Government also may be pleased to give it soon so that the election for the next Council may be fought on the issue to work that constitution that will come into being before we face the electorate.

*Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri)*: I rise to support the demand for constitutional reforms by means of which it is sought to frame a better constitution for the State. In these days when freedom of people is being talked about everywhere it is only might and right that Cochin also should seek to enter the portals of it. Let us see the stage by which we enter. There is a big movement in India. There is a movement as to how to fit in with the Indian States. In that Indian movement what is going to be the future of the Indian States is being widely asked and let us face the logical consequences of the principle from time to time being

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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accepted and coming into being in India. It is not very far off. Promises are being held by Imperial Government in Britain that immediately after the war we shall bring you to a state when you can frame your own constitution and live according to your own agreement. That stage is reaching. We are hearing all the princes in the Chamber of Princes are resigning in a body. Why? We are not satisfied with provincial autonomy with the Indianisation of the whole of the Government of India from Europeans into Indians. We are not satisfied with the change of colour of bureaucracy from white to brown. The point here is there should be people's Government in India. What is the future of Indian States and of our little land of Cochin. That is the question we have already stated. If you are not in line with us in the freedom of movement you have no right to exist. The Diwan of Travancore in season and out of season was saying that no Indian State which cannot co-operate and guarantee with the future Government of India has no right to exist. Therefore, Sir, if you attend time by the forelock and prepare ourselves and fit ourselves with the new constitution that is coming, that will certainly be in the land within a decade, we will go to the wall. That is our anxiety. Let us see what is the position of the Indian States. We have got permanency on the one side and vasality on the other. Let us be frank. Let us face the issue. Is there any Government of any State that has been condemning the Paramount Power? Paramount power really rules. We know how princes have been dealt with and how States have been dealt with. We know how their wishes have been dealt with. We have been making no remarks between the Government of the State and the Paramount Power.

Mr. President: Order, order. I do not understand this resolution as making any recommendation regarding the relations between the Government of the State and the Paramount Power. I think the Hon'ble Member is rather wandering from the subject of the resolution.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* I am not wanderiug. I shall explain. We have got that inter-relationship. How to fit in with that inter-relationship. If we do not get in we do not get any constitution because of conflict of interests. In the case of every scheme we must know how to organise it. You may go to-morrow. The British Government may go. The Congress Government may come into that place. What is our place? Who is going to protect us. There is a treaty already. It has already been that treaties will go away. If the people of India are able to get into the portals all are set aside. They will be powerful enough to do that and all of us. Then where are we? Therefore we must go in line with the movement in British India whenever they get autonomy we must get autonomy. When they get Provincial Autonomy we must get Provincial Autonomy. Then we can work paripassu with them. You will not get anything here unless you make an insistent demand there is no use of telling the Government, give us a committee. They will give you a committee. You have to press as it is being pressed in India for self-Government and self-control of your own affairs. We find very many cases here in which the question has been coming up. Therefore the danger of standing still is a very great danger. You must either move forward or become stagnant and die. There are no two ways about it. All people must move forward. There will be so many questions coming up. How are we going to solve all these questions? We shall work that constitution for some time to come and Sir, there is another question. If in British India which has admittedly only 6 per cent literacy, they can have autonomy on the other side of Shoranur, why we here with about 90 per cent literacy cannot have it. Are we not law abiding people, people who always take what is given and press for more quietly, we do not have any agitation as they have—agitations and demonstrations. We want our soverign, we want our constitution, just like the elected constitution of the British Government. Is there any better example for any Indian State than to follow the system in England a Constitutional Soverign and a Constitutional Government entirely by Ministers. Is there any Indian States out of the 562 to teach the question in a constitutional manner. Their Highness the Maharajas have been absolutely constitutional. They never go against the advice of their advisors. They have never gone. Therefore they are inclined to have a constitution. They know they will get good counsel. What is the kind of constitution that you are asking. Heavens are not going to come down and we are not going to be fools to say that we will go against the Paramount Power which we know will be helpless. Therefore we will adjust. Therefore whoever be the Diwan he will know how to act, how to harmonise and therefore there is something fair in getting a Council of Ministers to carry on the administration of the land in the Constitutional System in Cochin. His Highness is already constitutional monarch. See the desipline in the land, see the simplicity in the land, therefore absolutely nothing will go wrong, if a Council of Ministers is established. It is because you have only

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Minister and only small plum and one small prize, that we got so many attack on the Minister. Another man wants to come in his place.

Mr. V. K. Bhaskara Menon *(Cranganur)*; How many plums do you want?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri)*: Four plums, it will be very good—four ministers. Let us have a Diwan. I once said genesis. Yourself said the other day in either capacity, therefore, Sir, the Government of this State is an anachronism and an anomoly antideluvian, wooden and lifeless. Let us go boldly and have a Council of Ministers. Let us see what is going to happen, if anything is going wrong it can easily be rectified. Bishop White of Madras wrote long long ago. If there is a place where a Constitutional Government can be tried in its entireity that State is Cochin. How many years have rolled by. We will discard the system of British India. What is our sin. Once before it was sa id that Cochin cannot be allo wed to go ahead. Now it is said that we cannot go behind. When His Highness—the abdicated Highness—that of giving a full Constitutional Government the Madras Government is supposed to have told him, we cannot allow you to do that now, because you will be going ahead of Madras. With plenty of agitation in the Madras Presidency it is said you must wait a little more. How long have we waited? Is it because not of our struggling in the manner in which they struggled with jails full of people and non-cooperation and so on. Is it because we are co-operating, we are always trying to please our Maharaja that we are being treated in this manner—the little balance of constitutional reform, one Minister and with also so many tramels behind him to tide over. Therefore we have a legitimate right complain and that is what we are going to do in the Council. There is a ban against meeting and therefore this is the only privileged place where we can ventilate all the grievances and ask you to give us a road which will take us to responsible Government. Diarchy has been discarded. It was being told that we are working wonderfully well. Between the Minister and the Diwan prefect harmony has been going on and they have been going on and they have been marching in harmony. They compromise themselves how it should be and therefore if for any subjects you are opinion that shall not be transferred unto popular control for fear of conflict of life those subjects may be kept outside. The relationship between the paramount power and the State should remain as it is. If Rajagopalachari can govern the whole of Madras there will be something rediculous if it is said that a Raja cannot govern Cochin State with only 562 sq. miles of populated land. What is the difficulty? Are we not able to govern ourselves. Use the proper and try the expriment. We have got experience, we have got knowledge; we read; we understand. What is the difficulty. We can also speak as well as they can. Only we do not go in the wrong way. We try to go in the proper method and not in the wrong method and for such a thing recommendations must go. Mistakes we commit. Are not others committing mistakes? How many mistakes are they committing for the purpose of mistake. It was mistake have gone out of the Government. Who will give up power. If you give up power you are ruined.

Mr. Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated)*: Why should the Government give you power?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri)*: It must be taken from them. It is vested interest. We are saying unless you do these things minorities come that is the point Here there is no such thing as between governing half and the governed half. You have got that in British India. What interest have we got here. A few offices to be divided between the competing parties—Nayars so many—Ezhuvas so many—Pulayas so many, etc., a few loaves and fishes is the only politics in Cochin. Somebody said that the politics in Cochin can be called a Stomach Politics. We want to go out of the Stomach Politics. Let us play cricket. One party will win. No party system will ever come in a diarchy for the simple reason that the Minister will have only a majority and the others will always try to pull him. You will get rivalry in ambition of the individuals. But in a pure political system—see the system in England whenever a war break out they were Tory; Conservative, Liberal, all join together. Let us fight out the enemy first. That their mentality. Here we see some men go to the logical end, with some times absurd results. But of course that is the purity of Indian Princes. Take the story of Harichandra. You go to the maximum pain and then relief. A best method is compromise. Compromise can go on. When you get the constitution take it out and then come to an agreement. You will see how it is difficult to come to an agreement. The English people say agree within yourself. Very good trick they find out. If we agree we must agree totally. Agree not to stand for election. Do not stand for election. I will set an example. But if I do not stand there will be many others who will stand and you will never agree. Can you get your own constituency agreed in it. If this is the constitution which they are to ask can you give a picture like that to Cochin, can you make the constituency go in that

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way. Without doubt you will get the constitution. I tell you that because they will sink. Such is the picture of a progressive State. What shame people are absolutely disgusted. Therefore, Sir, I submit that you in your wisdom of yours will not drive us to situations in which extreme step will have to be taken. It will only be said in this Council and nothing will come out of it, I have got 62 years' experience and I can tell you that is the experience of my colleagues. I hope that they may change and they would change. If you make a united demand in this House, if you put this proposition they will yield. When such is the case with Hon'ble men who have got 7 years' parliamentary experience some have remarked. What will be the condition in our constituencies.

They think that becoming M. L. C's they will be big men. We will fight on the Supply Member. When people are running for that without knowing what it is, that is the condition to-day. I know of persons who had to spend thousands and thousands of rupees at the fag end of the Council simply to come and sit here and say a few words. Nothing more. How much money have the people been spending? I have not spent one rupee. I made other people spend. In elections, people should spend for you and not you. You are going to help other people. Now if you are going to represent other people you are not to force yourself. You are not going to bribe. They must spend money. That should be the proper position. In any parliamentary life. If you do not know that read the working of the English Constitution which the Hon'ble Member for Chalakkudi admires. Look at it. If the party puts up, the party spends. How many poor candidates sitting, dosing and starving. They are put up, they are backed and money is spent. This is the system that will develop if you march into freedom. Therefore in the interest of march into freedom you will also help us. You are also about to retire and we might like you to do something for us before you go away. I earnestly request you to tender advice because your advice alone will mean. If you advise His Highness will agree, the Imperial Government will agree and it is for you to give judgment your opinion in favour. We do not know what you will say. Therefore we appeal to you and to your good conscience to lead us on the clear road to responsible Government and allow us to manage our own affairs in our own way and we will thank you for it because at this time when a new election is coming if we know how the wind blows we will set sails in the constituencies and we hope when the election is coming here you will not be a party to stifle expressions of opinion in public.

Mr. President: The Hon'ble Member is quite off the point. Will the Hon'ble Member kindly stick to the resolution?

Mr. A. B. Salem (*Mattancheri*); I think, Sir, I have said enough I think Mr. Poulose was right in tabling a resolution which is to stimulate thought on the other side. Nothing more than that is it intended. I think and nothing else would be achieved. It is for you to appoint a committee take into it your sole opinion, outside individual opinion and the opinion of persons disinterested but interested in the State. If you take their opinion and give your confidential opinion and lead us into the portals of freedom Cochin will be grateful to you. (Hear, hear)

The House sine die adjourned at 5 p.m.

N. S. RADHAKRISHNA SARMA

Secretary to the Council

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